

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA.

From the London Spectator. Tuesday week, the 30th of May, 1871, marks an epoch in Austrian history of the most momentous kind. Since February last, when the ministry of Count Hohenwarth succeeded the ministry of Count Potocki, the parties in the Reichsrath have never relaxed their attitude of mutual hostility. It may be said, indeed, that hostility—for opposition would very inadequately describe the situation—has been the chronic attitude of Austrian parties time out of mind. It must be granted that recently a paroxysm of bad feeling has set in, nor is it difficult to understand why this should be so. Successive ministries have of late years applied themselves to the new constitutional problem which since 1866 has distracted the mind of the long-suffering Emperor, a quarrel which in its day had caused so much bloodshed and misery, was settled by according to the demands of Magyars to the utmost extent at all compatible with the continued existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. One difficulty removed, another and a more formidable one has not delayed to make itself seen and felt. The strife between German and Magyar has only given place to the strife between German and Slav and between Magyar and Slav. In Cis-Leithan Austria especially has the question of the nationalities grown to gigantic dimensions. On the one side is the German party, powerful in its traditions, proud of the part they have played in Austria's past, prouder of the mighty future which seems to lie before their race in the Fatherland. On the other side stand a multitude of nationalities, Bohemians, Poles, etc., not without traditions of their own, conscious of long-continued insult at the hands of the dominant race, conscious, too, of possessing the great numerical superiority in the State. In the eyes of the German Austrians, exclusion from Germany makes the prospect of being reduced to a subordinate position in Austria, not only bitter. After being so long the first of Germans, the Imperial people, are they now to welcome the behests of Slavs? In the eyes of the Slavs, on the other hand, Sadova has forever destroyed the old prestige of the Austro-Germans. Some Slav deputies, the advanced Czechs, for instance, decline even to be present at a Reichsrath to which they deny all right to legislate. Even when their votes would probably decide a question in their favor, they prefer to remain aloof in contemptuous isolation, rather than appear to recognize the validity of an assembly that ignores the claims of an independent Bohemia. If other Slavs, like the Poles, attend and vote, it is always under protest. Under these circumstances, it has occurred to Austrian ministers to try and see whether a considerable introduction of federal principles might not afford some means of harmonizing separatist tendencies with the general interests of the monarchy; but here the Germans step in, and proclaim a war to the knife against federalism. The secession of so many opponents from the Reichsrath, on the ground we have stated, gives them their opportunity, and they use it. We have, as a result, the spectacle of two factions, each composing a majority, the one in the Parliament, the other among the people. Count Potocki, who attempted to introduce federalism, was rewarded by the Parliament with a vote of want of confidence. He resigned. His successor, Count Hohenwarth, for a similar policy, was on the 26th of last month made the subject of a similar condemnation. Here, however, the similitude ends. Count Hohenwarth has no intention whatever of resigning, something like Prince Bismarck in the famous contest with the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, he relies, for counterbalancing parliamentary weakness, on extra-parliamentary support, and events have shown that his reliance is not misplaced. On the 30th of May Herr von Hopfen, the President of the Lower House, presented the address of the majority to the Emperor, expressing their dissatisfaction with the Ministry. The Sovereign replied that the Ministry possessed his entire confidence (volles Vertrauen), and dismissed the petitioners with the admonition to aid and not to obstruct Count Hohenwarth. The dynasty has thus pledged itself to abandon the ancient theory of a Germanic Austria, which has been the consistent policy of the Hapsburgs for six hundred years. The Austro-Germans hardly exceed the third of the population of Cis-Leithan Austria. They do not form a fourth of the population of the dual monarchy. Deprived of the artificial pre-eminence they have hitherto enjoyed, they at once and necessarily sink into a second place compared with the Slav multitude. Will they accept the situation, or will they summon Bismarck to their aid, and by one great secession reunite all the German-speaking tribes under the Hohenzollerns? At least, they are fully aware of the straits which threaten them. According to their principal organ, the Neue Freie Presse of the 31st, the radical opposition between the Government and the Austro-German is plainly admitted, and with no symptoms of resignation. "The answer of the Emperor to the address of the House of Deputies is very short, but perfectly exhaustive. The House of Deputies had in their command expressed a vote of want of confidence against the Ministry. In the address the ministerial policy was condemned as a failure, as destructive of the public order, as furthering disintegration and pessimism. The Imperial reply expects from this very policy the restoration of a settled and secure state of things. The House of Deputies refused to be responsible for the conflict which again threatens. The Emperor expects rather that the House of Deputies will co-operate in the adjustment of the dispute about the constitutional forms, and gives them his imperial greeting in this expectation. The difference between yes and no, between good and evil, between right and wrong, is not more distinct than the antagonism between the address and its answer. The one is the direct contradictory of the other, and between them both yawns a chasm which no compromise can bridge over." On the other hand, such Slav journals as the Glos and the Narodny List hail the imperial reply as a Slav success, and demand the speedy translation of its favorable words into corresponding deeds. The Slav movement is not confined to the Cis-Leithan dominions. In the group of nationalities known as Hungarians, the Magyars are in as great a minority as the Germans in the other half of the State. At the recent elections for Croatia a vast majority of the votes of that warlike country pronounced in favor of separation and autonomy. The Slovaks of the Carpathian valleys have taken up the cry Slav independence, and to their two millions is added the alliance of nearly as

many Ruthenians, who have hitherto supported or endured the yoke of Magyar supremacy. What the ultimate results will be it is impossible to say. This alone is clear. A decisive point in the development of the Hapsburg monarchy has been reached. Whether for good or ill, the day of the 30th of May in the Hofburg of Vienna is a date of the gravest kind. Let us hope that the event will be fortunate for the great "Eastern Kingdom," which has been the barrier of Europe against Mecca and against Moskowa.

DUMAS THE YOUNGER ON THE FUTURE OF FRANCE.

From the N. Y. Times. Alexandre Dumas fils, as the French press still persist in calling him, albeit the *jeune* has passed away—has written a notable letter on the present state and future needs of his countrymen. The letter is chiefly remarkable for three things. It is extremely long—filling upward of four columns of *L'Opinion Nationale*—it contains very little that is new, and it is, withal, very readable. M. Dumas has been to Versailles to see, because, as he says, to see is to know, and to know is to foresee. This great truth, it appears, he found embodied in that remarkable man, M. Thiers, who has seen, known, and predicted everything. M. Dumas has also done a little in the prophetic line, though, of course, at an immense distance behind the great M. Thiers. For example, in a novel published three years ago the philosophic Alexander did solemnly enunciate these startling facts, that the old society was everywhere crumbling, and that all original laws, all fundamental institutions, both human and divine, were being surrendered, and called in question. Further, a few months later this far-seeing novelist wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the editor of the *Gauche*, who had asked him to furnish some articles of literary criticism: "What's the use? Is there anybody who, in a year or two from now, will occupy himself about our books and our plays? The drama will no longer be in the theatres; it will be in the legislative chamber and in the streets. Literature is played out, action is about to begin."

After having triumphantly vindicated his right to claim possession of the divining rod and the prophetic mantle, M. Dumas proceeds to give the world an insight into the inner consciousness of M. Thiers. As a preparative for this we are treated to the criticism that "in France nothing is so easy as to be proclaimed great, while nothing is so difficult as to be admitted to be honest." We are then informed with impressive gravity that "M. Thiers will neither prove a Monk nor a Washington; he will be 'Thiers.'" To the reader vaguely speculating over the significance of this mystic phrase, M. Dumas adds, rather more explicitly, that, order once restored, the French executive in the person of Thiers will, in effect, say to the nation, "Choose your Government freely, loyally and intelligently if you can—and name whom you please, provided it is not I. Then he will remain quietly at home, if he has by that time a home at which to remain." Alongside of the French novelist's opinion of his political hero, it may not be uninteresting to place that of Karl Blind, the German socialist, conveyed in a late communication to the *Neue Freie Presse*. "Chamarnier and Ducrot would find play the part of Monk at once. Thiers only hesitates from tactical motives. At the same time, he has no desire to be set aside by his rivals. Hence he rather seeks with McMahon, the Bonapartist, in order not to be ousted by the generals of the united royalists. Thiers, too, means to have his crown in the Republic, only his mode of fencing it is a different one."

Descending to the role of historian, M. Dumas informs his countrymen that for some seventy years they have been nourished upon fictions—upon words that signified absolutely nothing. Liberty, military glory, universal suffrage, the nation, universal brotherhood—in short, every idea that has dominated Frenchmen since '89 has been either bartered or misdirected. To this pass it has come at last, that there is no historical formula which has not been created and dissolved in France, none of her political expedients which has not been both done and undone. The plan, then, evidently, is to begin at the beginning. Everybody is calling loudly for the man who is to save the nation. "He is not far to seek," says M. Dumas, with an inspiration of common sense; "you have him very close at hand; it is you, and I, and all of us." The individual—"the being autonomous and self-knowing"—is, it appears, non-existent, or, at least, very rare in France. When a Frenchman gets up in the morning, he requires either five or six people to assist him in getting through the day. First he needs a policeman to protect him in the street, next a soldier to protect him at the frontier, then a professor to teach his children, still further a priest to teach him morality, some unfortunate or other to go and take the chance of getting killed in his stead, and last of all a king or emperor to keep the machine of state in motion. This eminently laud and comprehensive details of a Frenchman's "doubles" forms the key to the new political gospel according to Dumas. The Germans killed the soldier and the substitute—the Commune extinguished the policeman, the professor, the priest, and the emperor. A very obvious opening has thus been made for every man becoming his own policeman, soldier, substitute, etc., and herein lies the future salvation of France. Of course, M. Dumas being a great literary artist, does not descend from his lofty platitudes quite so suddenly as this, but, in plain terms, this is what his specific amounts to. Ten years of this regime will pay off the hundreds of millions of new debt, will restore the lost provinces and will make France "the foremost nation in the world." The period required is moderate, but M. Dumas seems rather apprehensive that to a volatile people it may seem too long. Let him reconsider the matter, and see whether he could not conscientiously advise every Frenchman to become his own baker, tailor, boot-maker, and builder, and perhaps the great regeneration could be effected in half the time, to the great satisfaction of France and her latest prophet.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

From the N. Y. World. Mr. Stephens has assumed the editorship of the *Atlanta (Ga.) Sun*, to the regret of some Democratic journals and the derision of some Republican. For our part we rejoice that talents so distinguished and experience so wide are to adorn the journalism of this country, and to assist in shaping public opinion. It is true that Mr. Stephens is disabled by his ill-health not less than by the mistaken policy of the radical party, from re-entering public life by the door at which he made his exit in 1859; but it is nevertheless a noteworthy adjustment to the shifting powers of the four estates that he has made. Earlier it might have given him success in the great effort of his life, to overthrow Toombs and prevent the secession of Georgia.

Mr. Stephens is not disqualified for usefulness in public life as so many Southern men like Davis and Toombs, even though annexed, would be; and as some few hide-bound Democrats and nearly every Republican of the North, except Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, prominent before and during the war, are disqualified. Like mill-horses which have been serviceable in one situation, they do not know how to be otherwise serviceable in another situation, and so when hitched to a wagon, drag it about a circle, as if a straight road to a journey's end were an unprincipled or impossible thing. But Mr. Stephens is capable to recognize a situation, and to make the best of it when what he would like better is not to be had. No man fought for the Union more staunchly than he. When Georgia seceded (for he believed in her right to secede) he accepted the situation and did his best in the constitution of the Confederate States to fortify and guard every one of the old Constitution's guarantees of civil liberty. This, too, marked his work as Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. He fought against military and executive encroachments of powers those here who never ceased to wage a like contention, and so were prone to appreciate; for here, whatever Republican brawlers and frightened fanatics may have said, our contention never hindered, those encroachments never helped, the victory of the North; but the South was foredoomed, and to deny her those unlawful weapons must have seemed to many the denial of a last and only chance of life. We have not forgotten his noble letter on martial law to the Mayor of Atlanta (whom General Bragg had appointed civil governor there), denouncing the "palpable usurpation;" we never can forget the "Georgia Legislature" in 1864; his denunciation of the habeas corpus suspension act as unwise, impolitic, unconstitutional, and dangerous to public liberty; his bold denunciation of the proposals for a dictatorship; his denial to President Davis and to Congress of every power not specifically conferred—and all this when the Confederacy was in its mortal struggle and when he himself was charged with attempting counter-revolution. So too when the Rebellion was crushed, he more promptly or more manfully than he accepted the duties of that new, changed, transformed situation—in his reply to Bontwell before the Reconstruction Committee, the sword was appended to a decision in question, and by the decision of the sword I am willing to abide"—and so like Lee pointing the Southern people their true path, and saying, "Patience; patience."

But Mr. Stephens not only lacks disqualifications, he has exceptional qualifications for public usefulness. We have hinted one of them. Not any true lover of civil liberty, none at least so capable as he, can be spared from the fight with the imperialists who are steadily shaping our republic into an empire. These men have entered upon what Carl Schurz calls "encroachments and usurpations," what Senator Trumbull calls "a revolution in the form and structure of our Government;" what William C. Bryant calls "a new rebellion by act of Congress." These Northern Rebels owe this Southern Rebel his "return match," and may the rebellion which would desecrate the Government get its coup de grace like the Rebellion which would have desecrated the republic! Keener weapons, brighter with use than those Mr. Stephens yields, no man will bring to the field where more and what is of more consequence than all we won at Appomattox will be the prize of victory. The Federal unity is worth all it costs; but that soul of liberty is priceless, which it was formed and constituted to guard.

Concerning the three amendments Mr. Stephens' position, misrepresented by radical journals, in fact is this. Amendment XIII, abolishing slavery, he regards as a valid part of the organic law because ratified by the constitutional constituencies of a sufficient number of States, (though some had no share in its proposal from Congress through voluntary absence). Amendments XIV and XV he, like all Democrats, regards as the offspring of gross usurpations of power passed by force, fraud, and perjury; in the proposal of which ten States of the Union were denied a voice, and in the ratification of which they were submitted to constituents not embraced in their constituencies, and to the Constitution of the United States, and carried through under a military despotism. But Mr. Stephens goes further, and thinks them invalid.

Whether his be the sounder legal opinion or no, on the point of validity, he would doubtless feel compelled to defer to a decision of the Supreme Court thereupon, which as at present constituted would not fail to affirm the same. But as to Amendment XV the difference is not great in a practical point of view, for Mr. Stephens in an authorized paper has declared his belief that negro suffrage "does not belong to Federal politics in any way," and his approval of a qualified negro suffrage. And as to the remaining Amendment XIV, leaving out the part which a vote of Congress can extinguish, and referring to its prohibitions upon States, we have no doubt whatever that Mr. Stephens concurs with the progressive Democrats of the North in the wholesale denial of any least warrant therein for the Bayonet Election law or the outrageous Ku-klux act.

This practical concurrence of Mr. Stephens with the Democracy of the Northern States, not to mention the Southern, though a concurrence which is not limited by any means, will increase the usefulness of his interference, which, if exerted in opposition to their decision to recognize the results of the war, would for obvious reasons be less than nothing.

PRESIDENTIAL.

From the N. Y. Tribune. Those who either hope or fear that this journal will be dragged or driven into a discussion of the question, "Who shall be the Republican candidate for President in 1872?" may at once relinquish their hope or dispel their apprehension. A year is quite time enough to be devoted to the making of a President, and the beginning of another contest soon after one has been closed by an election is one of the most inveterate nuisances of American politics. We cannot realize that any practical good is likely to result from a newspaper presentation and discussion of the merits of possible candidates a full year in advance even of a nomination; but this is a free country, and every one does what seems right in his own eyes. We announce our own course, without seeking to control that of others.

In due time a Republican National Convention will doubtless be called, and the States requested to send delegates thereto; and then, it seems to us, a discussion of the merits of rival candidates, should more than one be suggested, will be in order. Meantime, if the Federal office-holders resolve to stand a little back and let others be heard occasionally, they will evince a becoming modesty and justify their friends' opinion of their good taste.

We of New York are not likely to have much weight in the next Republican National Convention unless we present our own State in a better shape than she has worn for some time past. We propose, therefore, to pay more immediate attention to this point. We shall doubtless have a State Convention early in the autumn, which will present candidates for the State offices to be filled next November, and endeavor so to organize the party that a Republican majority may be secured in both Senate and Assembly. We have no doubt that a Republican Legislature can be chosen, and we purpose to labor to this end. Whichever makes the difference unappreciated in this city an excuse for apathy or bolting must answer therefor to his own conscience; but when the election is over, should either house be lost by a bare majority, when it would have been carried for bolting, we shall put our finger on the very spot where the mischief was done, and endeavor to let the public know who did it. Faction and corruption sent Democrats to the last Senate from the Saratoga, Clinton, Oneida, and Monroe districts; and votes may be bought again, as votes were bought two years ago. It is due to the true men of the State that the culprits shall be more clearly indicated than they were then, and we shall try to furnish the needed information.

We repeat that, before the preferences of our State to a Presidential candidate can be much regarded, it is essential that we demonstrate our ability to give him her vote. After that, our choice may be regarded by the Republicans of other States with an interest higher than mere curiosity.

PHILADELPHIA.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. On next Saturday, July 1, if the arrangements are completed, Philadelphia will become, formally, a way station on one of the great highways between New York and the Western and Northwestern cities.

It will remain, of course, an important place for manufactures, some protected and others unprotected; the most comfortable city on the continent for workmen and their families; one of the great centres of our manufacturing industry, and like Newark, fortunate in its vicinity to New York. But we suppose with the completion of the bargain which is to give the New Jersey railroads into the control of the Pennsylvania Central Company, even the most ambitious Philadelphia will give up the long and unsuccessful struggle to make his city a seaport and to contend with New York for commercial supremacy.

But when Mr. Thomas A. Scott, a Philadelphian himself, and reputed to be one of the ablest railroad managers in the United States, has the roads and carrels of the New Jersey companies in his grasp, we trust he will recognize the immense importance to Philadelphia of the speediest and most frequent railroad communication with New York. Newark owes, we believe, much of its rapid growth in population and wealth, and its prominent prosperity, to the frequent and rapid communication it has with New York. Philadelphia is but ninety miles from the city, and Mr. Scott would do a brilliant service to his own city if he would enable Philadelphians to get to New York in two hours instead of three and a half.

We suppose it will not be necessary to suggest to the Free Trade League of this city that Philadelphia, thus brought into more intimate connection with New York, is good ground for the missionary efforts of the league.

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